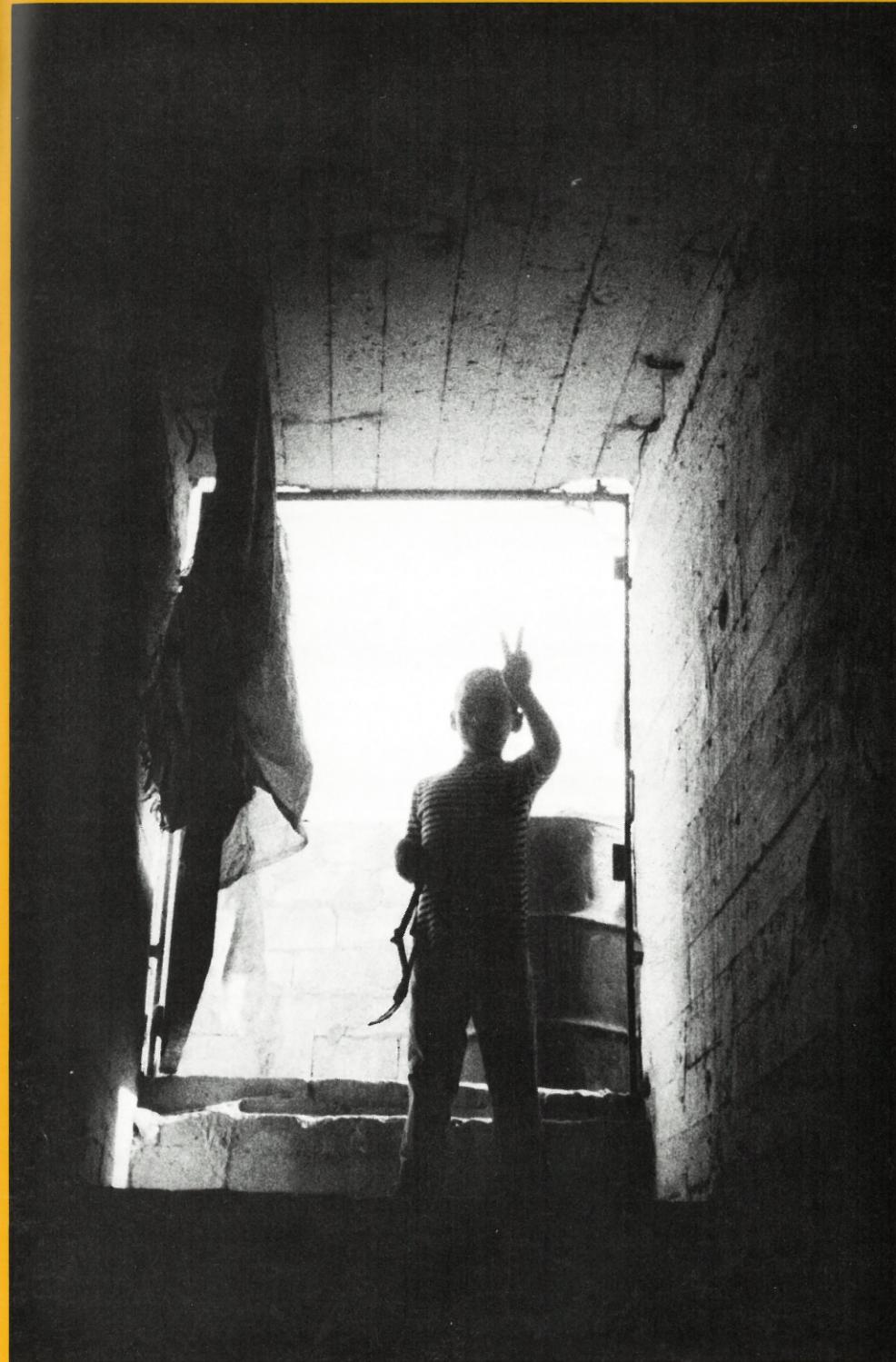


Palestine Perspectives

Number 45

The Magazine of Contemporary Palestinian Affairs

Jan./Feb. 1990



Lawyers Harassed

International Commission of Jurists reports on Israeli harassment of Palestinian lawyers at a time when repression makes the rule of law more necessary than ever—*p. 5*

Let Us Rethink

Professor Charles L. Black urges reconsideration of the U.S.-Israeli peculiar relationship, in view of Israel's uniquely repressive policy—*p. 10*

Who's Afraid of Glasnost?

Israel's strategists fear that the easing of East-West tensions would diminish Israel's value as a U.S. "strategic asset"—*p. 12*

Israeli Identity Crisis

Deeply divided over the question of "who is a Jew?" Israelis now ponder the question of "who is an Israeli?"—*p. 16*

THE END OF THE TUNNEL

\$2.50

Defective Merchandise and No Warranties

The best way to characterize the "peace process" that Washington is peddling on Israel's behalf is to say that it is an effort to sell the Palestinians defective merchandise with no warranties...and to charge an awful lot for it.

To begin with, the process is based on false and self-defeating assumptions. It is based on the assumption that a foreign occupying power, and one which believes its occupation to be lawful and legitimate, can be trusted with administering free elections in the territories it occupies. It is based on the assumption that the occupied territories are contested territories and, therefore, their ownership is up for grabs. Negotiations over their future are to determine whether or not they are to be freed, rather than how, when and under what circumstances they are to be freed. It is based on the assumption that Palestinian national rights pale in significance before Israel's "security needs," no matter how loosely such needs are defined. And it is based on the assumption that national independence—recognized to be a universal right in all other cases—is for the Palestinians a luxury which they can afford to do without.

These assumptions inevitably lead to a "peace process" whose main aim is to extract as much as possible from the Palestinians to give to the Israelis. Hence Washington's tolerance—even sponsorship—of an Israeli policy clearly calculated to mince Palestinian rights in preparation for serving them at Israel's table.

Israel has not tried to deceive anyone on this matter. It says that it will not negotiate with the PLO, directly or indirectly, or with anyone identified with the PLO. In effect this means the exclusion of anyone with legitimacy or credibility among the Palestinians. It says that the 150,000 Palestinian residents of Jerusalem have no right to be involved. This means the exclusion of the majority of potential local leaders, many of whom are Jerusalem residents. It says that the process cannot begin before the Palestinians end the intifada. This means that Israel wants to pacify the Palestinians and not to make peace with them. It says that it will not cease or suspend the establishment of Jewish settlements, which means that it is determined to continue to squeeze the Palestinians out of their land. And it says that it accepts no agenda that does not ensure "Jewish sovereignty" as the ultimate outcome of negotiations. This means that the Palestinians are welcome to endorse Israel's usurpation of their homeland, but not to challenge it.

The U.S. government, which wants the Palestinians to accept this "process" as a promising option, does not necessarily endorse it in its totality. So it wants Palestinians (chosen by the U.S., Israel and Egypt) to come and discuss Israel's agenda. They can bring with them their own "assumptions," provided they do not bother the others with their concerns and do not insist on placing them on the agenda. In other words, Washington is telling the Palestinians that they don't have to like it, but they must do it anyway.

Shamir's election plan was advertised as a process which leaves all options open. It turned out to be a scheme to close all but Israeli options. It is the crudest way to tell the Palestinians that they have no incentive to make peace with Israel.

The attempt to sell the Palestinians defective merchandise with no warranties is intended to cause a serious rift within the PLO. A serious rift would demoralize the Palestinians and possibly end the intifada. And it would give Israel an opportunity to claim that it is the Arabs' inability to "get their act together" which impedes the peace process. This is a strategy with which the Palestinians should not cooperate. If Israel scores a public relations point, then let it. Palestinian struggle is for liberty...not image. □



Palestine Perspectives

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Israel and Palestinian Human Rights

On 9 December 1989, a Palestinian human rights organization and an Israeli group which monitors Israel's violations of human rights in occupied Palestine, were recognized for their work by the Carter-Menil Foundation. The Palestinian group, al-Haq, and the Israeli group, B'Tselem, were represented at the Atlanta, Georgia, ceremonies—presided over by former President Jimmy Carter—by Palestinian human rights activist Mona Rashmawi and Israeli human rights activists Dedi Zucker. The first item below is an excerpt from Rashmawi's acceptance speech, and the second is a comment, published in *The Jerusalem Post International* (23 December 1989) on the controversy stirred up in Israel by the joint award.

The Unprotected Palestinians

By *Mona Rashmawi*

On October 10, 1989, our colleague at al-Haq, field-worker Sha'wan Jabarin, was taken from his home by soldiers in civilian clothes and tortured on the way to the police station. Once there, he declared to the police that he worked for a human rights organization. He said that torture is illegal, and that he wanted to submit a complaint. The response was only to beat him more severely. Sha'wan was so badly beaten that he had to be taken to a hospital.

When word of this reached al-Haq, I called the legal advisor to the military government in the West Bank. He admitted that he already knew but could do nothing about it.

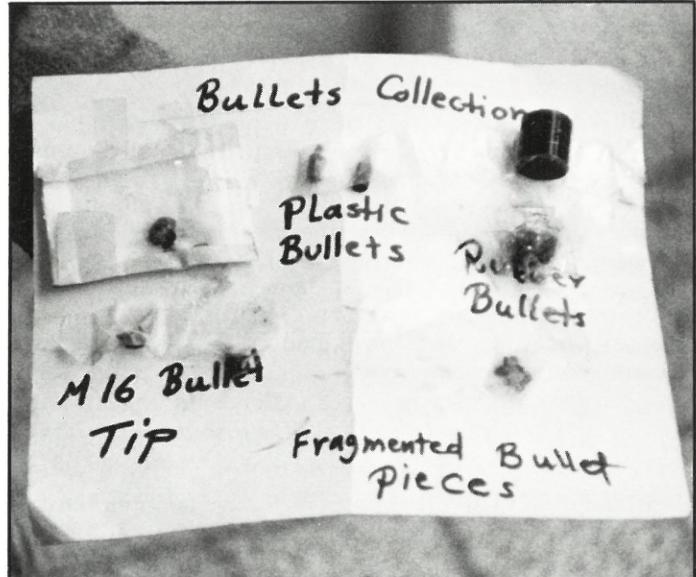
The interventions on behalf of Sha'wan by al-Haq and the international human rights community, including President Carter's, failed. And what was the official response? In Defense Minister Rabin's answer to President Carter, interestingly enough publicized by Rabin's office, he stated: "As to the beating of the man, it was only moderate enough to convince him to accept detention." Sha'wan was handed a one-year administrative detention order, the longest possible period for one order. Sha'wan was not interrogated, he was not charged, he was not tried in a court of law. He is currently serving his term, along with 4,500 other Palestinians, in the isolated Ketziot (Ansar 3) military detention center, under the harsh conditions of the Naqab [Negev] desert, where no family visits are allowed. Sha'wan will not meet his firstborn child until he is one year old.

Since 1948, the Palestinian people have endured the hardship and indignity of exile and waited for the community of states to guarantee them their right to return to their homes. More injustice has been done since 1967. For the last 22 years, Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank—including East Jerusalem—have endured a military occupation which manipulated the administrative and legal structures leading to political oppression and economic exploitation. The fundamental rights taken for granted by other nations have been denied to us, most importantly, the right to self-determination.

The rule of law has been absent. From the first day of occupation the military commanders of the West Bank and Gaza regions issued a proclamation which concentrated the legislative, executive and judicial functions of government in the hands of one person: the military commander.

Then the military began to legislate. More than 1,290 military orders have been passed in the West Bank, and nearly 1,000 in Gaza, amending local law beyond recognition. These orders give sweeping powers to the military and touch every aspect of our lives: economy, transporta-

(continued on page 4)



Faisal Hallaj/Palestine Perspectives

Embarrassed By the Honor

By *Menachem Shalev*

Once upon a much simpler time, not so long ago, when a human rights organization was commended by some reputable policy center, one could immediately sense what was what.

If the human rights group was congratulated for monitoring abuses—in a country where, say, an inordinate number of children had been killed by soldiers, thousands of political opponents had been incarcerated without trial, or a whole ethnic group was being suppressed and oppressed for demanding political freedoms—then you knew, first of all, that this was a black and white situation. You knew that some things are simply unjustifiable; that there is right and wrong, good and evil.

You immediately sensed that the culprit regime was made up of sinister, sunglass-wearing mustachioed men in glorified, puffed-up uniforms for whom the term "human rights" was an abomination and who periodically issued hypocritical statements about the "need to maintain law and order."

But you knew the truth: that the regime was corrupt and, in most cases, racist to boot.

You could almost always bet that this regime was being buttressed by the U.S. under the guise of some inane justification of the "global fight against communism." That whenever complaints were voiced about the intolerable practices of the propped-up regime, some State Department official would immediately observe, off the record, that the situation in Afghanistan or Tibet was much worse.

(continued on page 4)

“Quote Unquote”

“Already, the intifada has ceased to be a Palestinian event... It is a human story.”

Sari Nuseibeh
Middle East International
15 December 1989

“It is appropriate to ask whether a third temple has already risen, not in Jerusalem, as proposed, but in the Negev in the form of a nuclear weapons-producing reactor.”

Mark Gaffney
Dimona, The Third Temple?
Amana Press, 1989

“Israel's occupation was once dubbed very benign. Today, with some 12,000 Palestinians under detention without trial, it would seem to merit a somewhat different epithet.”

The Jerusalem Post
16 November 1989

“To Detach us from Nablus and Hebron after 23 years is an absurdity that the Likud as a party and its members will never accept.”

Binyamin Begin (MK)
The Jerusalem Post (int'l)
9 December 1989

“In addition to all the unutterably grave tangible hurts, the actions of Israel toward the Palestinians add up to an attempted theft of dignity.”

Professor Charles L. Black, Jr.
“*Let Us Rethink...*”
JCOME, 1989

EMBARRASSED (continued from page 3)

You could be sure that being an independent journalist in that country was about as safe as test-piloting experimental aircraft.

You could safely assume that the human rights group was made up of good-looking, idealistic, local youths whose ranks were swelled by the kind of Anglo-Saxon yuppies who tend to gravitate towards such causes.

And you knew that the day would come when the regime would topple and good would triumph over evil.

It was fascinating, therefore, to watch Dedi Zucker on television the other day, shielding his face with his hand as he anxiously listened to the address of former President Jimmy Carter in Atlanta. Zucker, a Civil Rights Movement Knesset Member heads the B'Tselem group, which gathers human rights data in the administered territories. B'Tselem was being honored by Carter's policy center.

Zucker, it was clear, was concerned that Carter would be too harsh on the oppressive regime; too supportive of the oppressed minority; too unequivocal and one-sided in his support of human rights.

And Zucker, when asked by an interviewer to comment on the proceedings, found it apt to express his disappointment at the fact that his Palestinian co-winners of the human rights prize, al-Haq, had not been able to condemn the brutal murder of Palestinians by Palestinians.

The dedicated MK knows that things are not so simple; that the territories are not El Salvador or Guatemala; that the oppressed masses have made major contributions to their own oppression; and that the term human rights is as alien to them as it is to sinister generals elsewhere.

He knows, too, that for those barely-informed millions around the world who happened to hear of the Atlanta award, he represents the bright-eyed do-gooders, and everything else just falls into well-established patterns, including the eventual triumph over evil regimes.

The more justly-deserved human rights awards are handed out, the less the complexities are perceived, the more the stereotype sets in. Then, the more people here allow themselves to accept it, live with it, find justification in it, they indeed learn to believe that all we are doing in the territories is “maintaining law and order.” Perhaps, they say, even in Guatemala—at the time—the regime had a point.

So, perhaps, there is some self-fulfilling prophecy at work here. As time goes by, our situation will indeed begin to resemble that of the stereotype.

Oh, to be in freedom-loving Prague or Sofia, where you can shout at the top of your lungs and feel no sense of unease, not know the meaning of the term “ambiguity.” □

Available From Palestine Perspectives

Two new leaflets are available to interested readers of *Palestine Perspectives*: “Intifada: The Palestinian Pro-Democracy Movement,” and “The Palestinians and the Peace Process.” The two articles were written by *Palestine Perspectives* editor Dr. Muhammad Hallaj.

Readers interested in receiving a free copy of the brief papers are requested to send a stamped (25 cents) self-addressed envelope (business size, 4X9 inches) to:

Palestine Perspectives
9522-A Lee Highway
Fairfax, VA 22031

Vigil For Peace

A number of organizations, including church and human rights groups, supportive of a just peace in the Middle East held a "Vigil For Peace" on New Year's Eve across the street from the White House in Washington. The vigil was timed to coincide with an international peace march on Jerusalem from 29 to 31 December 1989. Thousands of people from around the world joined Palestinians and Israeli peace activists in a march, where they formed a human "peace chain" around the walls of Old Jerusalem. Dozens of people, including Palestinians, Israelis, and visiting European participants were injured when the Israeli police charged the demonstrators when they displayed Palestinian flags, beating them and firing plastic and rubber bullets at them. Scores of people were also arrested. Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza have been forbidden to participate in the peace march, and the Israeli authorities mobilized 1,500 policemen to control the event.



Faisal Hallaj/Palestine Perspectives

The vigil in Washington was part of an observance "in memory of those who have died in the intifada" and "in hope for those who are struggling for justice." The activities included a religious service at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington as well as discussions of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Terry Boulatta, a recently-released Palestinian political prisoner, and Daniel Boyarin of the International Jewish Peace Union (Jerusalem) spoke at the event. □

Analysis... Moderates and Moderation

Ever since the Palestine National Council (PNC) embarked on an explicitly accommodationist policy toward Israel in its last session in November 1988, it has often been said that if Israel continues its present rejectionist policy and continues to oppose making reciprocal concessions, Palestinian moderates would be undermined and the leadership of the Palestinian national movement would fall to radicals. Such a view is usually intended to convey to Israel and its friends the message that it is in their interest to be more forthcoming on the peace process.

Theoretically, this sort of analysis makes sense. In a situation of conflict, antagonists often become mirror images of each other and reflect each other's moods. Sooner or later, inflexibility on one side would provoke extremism on the other side. It is the familiar concept of dialectical thesis and antithesis.

In the Israeli-Palestinian situation, however, two important points need to be kept in mind. One, it is not that Israel does not know how to make peace with the Palestinians; it has not yet concluded that it needs to do so. It wants them out of the way to enable it to proceed with the business of displacing them. That is why Palestinian moderates have always been anathema to Israel which had made them a special target for its wrath.

The second point to remember about the possible impact of Israeli rejectionism is that it is Palestinian (and Arab) *moderation*—not moderates—that will fall victim to Israeli inflexibility. The moderates are not traitors who wish to sell out the Palestinians; they are people who want to facilitate a settlement to enable the people to get on with their lives. If Israel makes that impossible, it is not they but the whole notion of moderation that will be undermined and discredited.

If that is what Israel is after, it is welcome to it. But it should know that it is being shortsighted rather than clever. □

The Harassment of Judges and Lawyers

Israel's Iron Fist Strikes the Rule of Law

The Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists says that Israel's harassment of Palestinian judges and lawyers is "a cause for great concern," because it comes at a time "when their independence is most necessary to uphold the rule of law."

In a report on "The Harassment and Persecution of Judges and Lawyers" in various countries, covering the period January 1988 to June 1989, ICJ says that "the administrative detention of Palestinian lawyers at a time when over 30,000 Palestinians were arrested and detained in a twelve-month period is a cause of great concern." Its report includes the following cases of harassment of Palestinian lawyers:

Law Behind Bars

■ **Mohammed Hashim abu-Shab'an:** member of the Executive Committee of the Gaza Bar Council and head of the Committee for the Defense of Detainees. He investigated and prepared complaints concerning the mistreatment of detainees during the intifada, or uprising. On 17 March 1988 he addressed a large colloquium at Tel Aviv University organized in opposition to the Israeli occupation. In the course of his talk he discussed specific cases he was defending in Gaza, and called for reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians. That evening, after returning home, he was arrested and placed under administrative detention, not to be released until 5 July 1988.

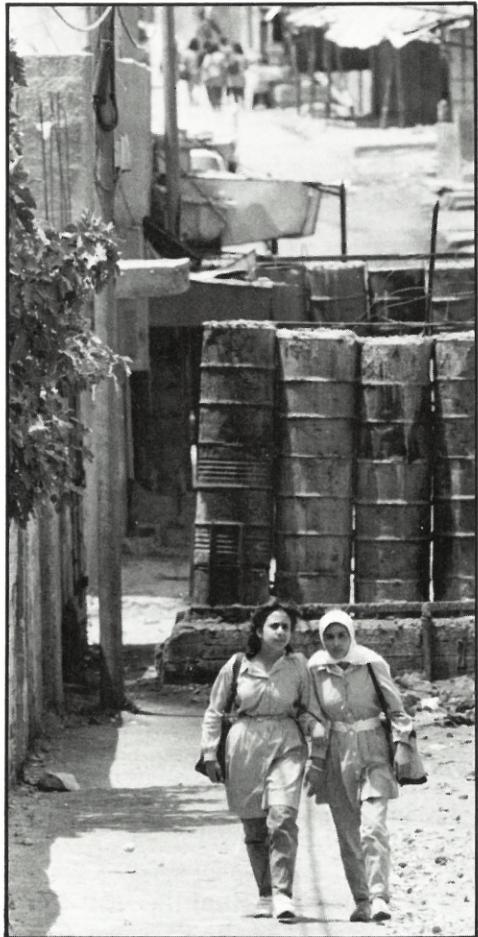
■ **Yousef Zaki al-Araidi:** attorney from Jenin. Arrested at the end of May 1989, and placed under administrative detention in Ketziot [Ansar 3] prison for six months. The reason for his detention is unknown.

■ **Awad Khalil al-Batran:** attorney from Izna (near Hebron). Arrested in late April, then placed under administrative detention in Ketziot prison for six months. The reason for his detention is unknown.

(continued on page 7)

Experience in the Holy Land

By Sally Burkhardt Haddad



UNRWA photo

My trip to the West Bank and Gaza gave new meaning to the expression "seeing is believing."

After reaching Tel Aviv airport I shared a cab with six Jerusalem-bound Israelis. One of them asked me why I was coming to Israel. I replied that I was here to see the holy sights. He inquired if I meant the Wailing Wall. I answered that I was a Christian and wanted to visit the Church of the Nativity. His curt response was: "I don't know if there are any churches in the area." He said he was amazed that I was visiting Israel although I was not Jewish, and I had to remind him that Christianity was born in this part of the world.

The next morning, our delegation left the Palace Hotel to visit the Maqasid Hospital. Dr. Farouk and Dr. Dajani showed us X-rays of their patients. Each X-ray told a gruesome story; how bullets traveled through the brains and spines of the injured. We then visited some of the patients. The ones I talked with were in remarkably good spirits. I discovered that one of them was an excellent artist in spite of

the fact that his hands were crippled as the result of nerve damage.

St. John's eye hospital was our next stop. Our guide was a British nurse who had served many years there. While touring the hospital I heard about patients of all ages who had lost their sight because they had been shot or received severe beatings from Israeli soldiers.

In the afternoon, twelve of us visited Dheisha refugee camp near Bethlehem. Israeli soldiers with machine guns surrounded the camp, but soon left after we arrived.

I soon discovered that entering the camp was no easy matter. We had to climb a set of steep steps then descend a ladder to a rocky plateau, and finally slide down an incline. The entrances are sealed with high cement walls and barbed wire. Once inside, we passed a deserted UNRWA school which had been closed by the Israeli military. An old lady pulled at my sweater pleading "leish, leish?" (why, why?) as she pointed at the high barricades and barbed wire. I had no answer for her...or for myself!

Our guide, Karen, took us to visit a family whose young daughter was recently killed. She had been attending the funeral of a cousin and was shot when soldiers came and disrupted the funeral. The husband had been out of work since the intifada began two years ago, and the sons had either been shot, imprisoned, or hiding in the hills for safety.

As we were leaving the camp, little children began to follow. But I remembered Karen's advice to discourage them, since they might be shot at for assembling into a group. At that moment I desperately wanted to gather them in my arms and run with them out of the camp. Instead, I motioned them away, hoping they would not see the look of desperation in my eyes....

On our second full day, our group went to Bureij camp in Gaza. Like Dheisha there was only one entrance. Barbed wire and cement walls surrounded the enclave...We met a 19-year-old man named Mahmoud. He told us that he had just returned home after a year in prison. While in prison he had been tortured with electric shocks during interrogation. His crime was that he was suspected of belonging to a camp youth group. He

told us how the soldiers came at night, pushed open the cell door and threw tear gas inside.

Curfew time was approaching and we had to hurry to visit other families. In one home we saw an eight-year-old who had been scalded with boiling water thrown at her by a soldier who broke into the home one evening. The child was incredibly disfigured. Another family we visited lived in a tent. The home was blown up when the whereabouts of the eldest son could not be explained. Now the soldiers want the tent removed. The family is forbidden to rebuild its house and has to sleep outdoors.

Throughout the camp I was followed by children, sometimes pressing a prized possession—a tiny colored stone or a small picture of a Palestinian martyr—into my hand. Their attitude was unmistakably loving, and I find it difficult to recall the scene without tears welling in my eyes.

The last thing I saw as I left the camp was a little boy building a house from a pile of stones. He kept moving stones around, eyes fixed in concentration, as his design took form. He seemed to be four years old. I wondered if he would be given the chance to grow up. His determined little face still haunts my nights.

When we returned to the bus, the rest of the delegation told how they saw a teenager shot by an Israeli soldier. A photographer with the group took a picture of the incident

I wish that I could say that with time the situation of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza would improve, but I feel that the opposite is true. Every day brings more death, despair and destruction. Can anyone question why the intifada began?

[I must add a postscript. Upon returning home, my family showed me a recorded video of the news from Beit Sahour. One segment was of Shimon Peres being interviewed by four American reporters. The four microphones they held were of different colors: one red, one black, one green and one white. They were held up simultaneously, and made up the colors of the forbidden Palestinian flag. In Israel, these colors are not to be displayed together. My gratitude to the newsmen who obviously showed their support of the Palestinian people in this gesture!] □

The writer is a teacher from Oakton, Virginia. She visited Palestine in November 1989

HARASSMENT (continued from page 5)

■ **Yunis Ahmed al-Jarrou:** Vice President of the Gaza Bar Council, personal injury lawyer since 1975, participant in the Gaza lawyers' strike organized in late 1987 and 1988 [to protest denial of due process for intifada detainees]. On April 19, 1988 he was placed under administrative detention (under an order dated 6 April), having received no explanation, either orally or in writing, except for one detention document, printed in Hebrew, which he does not read, and which was neither explained to him nor made available in translation. He was detained in Ketziot prison, which is described by international human rights groups as having sub-standard conditions. As in the case of Sourani (see below), the Israeli authorities justified al-Jarrou's detention only on the basis of undisclosed "secret evidence," according to which he is purported to have planned subversive activities within the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); however his support for the Gaza Lawyers' Strike and his leading position in the Gaza Bar Council are considered to have contributed to his detention. His appeal was unsuccessful. He served the entire six-month term of his detention, and was released only on 5 October 1988.

■ **Zuheir Khalil:** attorney from Tulkarem. Arrested during mid-1988, and placed under administrative detention in Ketziot prison for three months. The reason for his detention is unknown.

■ **Dib Isharabati:** Hebron attorney. Placed under administrative detention in mid-1988 and held for six months in Ketziot prison. Again placed under six months administrative detention in late June 1988 and currently being held in Ketziot prison. The reasons for his detention are not known.

■ **Mohammed Abdulrahim Shadid:** West Bank defense lawyer, participant in a boycott (from January to March 1988) of the military courts, organized by the West Bank Lawyers' Committee. He was summoned to the military governor's office and placed under administrative detention on 12 March

1989, without charge, for a term of six months.

■ **Raji Sourani:** one of the most active and well-known defense lawyers in Gaza City. He defended clients in security cases before military courts, monitored their treatment, and publicized cases of mistreatment. He was arrested and detained several times, with questionable evidence, for alleged involvement in subversive activity. In January 1988, Sourani took a leading role in the Gaza lawyers' strike and was charged with contempt of court for not appearing on behalf of a client. He was found guilty and fined. On 24 March 1988, he was arrested, taken from his home, and told he was being placed under administrative detention. For three days his whereabouts were unknown. His administrative detention order was dated 23 March 1988.

Following his arrest, Sourani was taken to Ketziot prison, where he was held until 17 April when he was transferred to Gaza City Prison. He was blindfolded on the bus and allegedly beaten at regular intervals during the trip with clubs and rifle butts. Upon a hearing requested by Sourani's lawyer, Tamar Pelleg, the latter was informed that the basis for Sourani's detention was "secret evidence" which would not be disclosed. At the same time, significant testimony in support of Sourani's background and character was of no avail. The appeal of Sourani's detention order was denied. The Israeli authorities later argued that

Arafat Writes Israeli Prisoner

P alestine President Yasser Arafat sent a letter of support to Israeli political prisoner Abie Nathan, who was sentenced to six months in prison by an Israeli court last October for meeting with Palestinian leaders, considered a crime in Israel.

Nathan, 62, a peace activist who operates *The Voice of Peace* radio station aboard a ship, had met Arafat and other Palestinian leaders in Tunis. He advocates an Israeli-Palestinian settlement through negotiations between Israel and the PLO.

Arafat's message to Nathan was delivered to him in prison by Arab Knesset member Abdel Wahab Darrawsheh, who had received it from Arafat's office on a facsimile machine. The message said that Arafat appreciates Nathan's struggle for peace, a struggle "which comes from deep beliefs," and expressed the hope that the two would meet again. □

Sourani played an active role in the planning of terrorist activities by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), however it declined to substantiate its allegations. Sourani was held at Gaza City Prison until 22 September 1988, after having served all of his six-month detention order.

Not A Thug

A reserve Israeli soldier, identifying himself as "reserve private number 2213693," wrote an open letter to Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin informing him that he would no longer accept to serve in "an army of thugs." The letter, which appeared on 2 October 1989 in several Israeli newspaper, is reprinted here from *The Other Israel*, newsletter of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (P. O. Box 956, Tel Aviv 61008, Israel):

"During the last two years I have become more and more concerned about, and ashamed of, your policy of cruel oppression against the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

"Two days ago, a pardon was granted to four imprisoned soldiers of the Giv'ati Brigade. You gave your approval to this pardon, knowing that the Southern Command Court Martial had found them guilty of breaking

into a house in Jabaliya Refugee Camp, of beating the 47-year old owner for over an hour with clubs, rifle butts and a broomstick, and of jumping up and down on his belly before the eyes of his children. As you know very well, he died a few hours later, though the court could not determine whether his death was caused by these four soldiers or by one of the other twenty who beat him afterwards.

"I have to inform you that your decision to approve the pardon has made it impossible for me to continue wearing the uniform of the I.D.F. [Israel Defense Forces]. An army which pardons thugs, thereby turns itself into an army of thugs. In such an army I am neither willing nor able to serve. Therefore, if I receive another reserve service call-up order, I will refuse, whatever the consequences." □

DEAR READERS

To ensure that you will continue to receive your copy of *Palestine Perspectives* on time, please let us know promptly if you change your address.

The Economic Intifada

Israel has one more problem to worry about in its futile war on the intifada. Palestinian productivity, and Israeli consumption of Palestinian goods, have been on the rise.

To diminish Israel's hold on occupied Palestine, the intifada has encouraged productivity in the West Bank and Gaza. Now the Palestinians not only produce enough for themselves in many economic sectors, but they are marketing more of their products in Israel.

Now Israel is looking for ways to quell the Palestinian "economic intifada." The occupation authorities, in conjunction with the Israeli Industry Ministry, have decreed that all West Bank and Gaza factories should label their products in Arabic. This way the Israeli consumer would be forewarned and presumably better equipped to cope with the new form of Palestinian "terrorism."

Who Names the Child?

In Israel, parents are not free to name their children, not against the wishes of the government anyway. Last November, a Palestinian couple needed support from the Israeli National Council for the Child to get the Interior Ministry to drop its objections to naming their baby girl Tahrir, Arabic for "liberation."

The Israeli hospital where the baby was born, refused to accede to the parents' wish to name their baby. The name, said the hospital clerk in charge of registering babies, is offensive to the Israeli public.

The legal advisor to the Interior Ministry ruled that approval of names is under the authority of the ministry according to Article 16 of the Naming Law of 1956. The ministry responded to the complaint by the Council for the Child by permitting the registration of the baby without conceding the parents' right to choose a name without ministry approval. This time, the name was allowed because the ministry did not find it "offensive."

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Ban the Pasta

Israeli manufacturers, blaming the Palestinian intifada for the slump in the Israeli economy which had sent the unemployment rate soaring to almost 10 percent at a time when Israel expected a flood of new immigrants, are looking for ways to cope with the economic intifada. One of their targets has been a Bethlehem pasta maker.

The Israeli Manufacturers Association has filed a complaint against al-Ghazel Macaroni Company, charging it with illegal marketing because its packages of spaghetti are printed red, white, black and green, the colors of the Palestinian flag. This makes the company a violator of the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" which forbids the display of any Palestinian symbols, even in abstract form. "We asked the police," said Association spokesman Danny Leish, "to investigate why they are allowed to distribute the flag in this way." He said that "it should be considered against the law." □

Israel Ponders the Meaning of Terrorism

Israel, which has always defined any act of Palestinian opposition as an act of terrorism, is now having second thoughts on the matter. Its definition of terrorism is becoming expensive.

The issue is being raised by the Israeli Treasury. It seems that many Israelis, taking advantage of their government's own elastic definition of terrorism, are asking for monetary compensation for damages caused by "terrorism" to cover personal or business losses. Claims for compensation have increased from an average of 50 a month to about 1,000 a month.

Income Tax Commissioner Moshe Gavish told *The Jerusalem Post* that many dubious claims are being received from individuals and businesses. For example, a restaurant which experiences a drop in business wants to be compensated for "sabotage" of food, and car owners seek compensation for damage to their cars blaming the damage on intifada-related incidents.

The Israeli Treasury has asked the attorney-general for a more precise definition of "terrorist action."

Knesset Buries Human Rights

The Legal Committee of the Israeli Knesset killed a proposed bill to give human rights legal protection in Israel. The killing of the legislation, adamantly opposed by Likud and its religious party allies, was the latest victim of Israel's surging right wing coalition. The bill was proposed as a private member's bill by Amnon Rubinstein of the small Shinui Party. □

Expulsion From Jerusalem

It is feared that Israel plans to expel a large number of the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem. In preparation for such expulsions, Israeli officials are beginning to claim that about 20,000 of the 150,000 Palestinian residents of Jerusalem live there "illegally," whatever that means. Recently, Israel's Interior Minister, Rabbi Arye Der'i told the Knesset that the Interior Ministry would "do its best" to get them out of the city.

The Minister also admitted that 57 Palestinian homes have been destroyed in Jerusalem during the past two years, claiming that they were built illegally. The rabbi also claimed that 200 unlicensed buildings have been built by the Palestinians in occupied Jerusalem, indicating that the demolition of Palestinian homes in Jerusalem would continue. □

"Excuse Me!"

Jerusalem deputy mayor Ornan Yekutieli apologized for making a symbolic gesture on behalf of Palestinian-Israeli peace. He recently found himself in hot water after he wore the badge of an Israeli peace group, depicting the Israeli and Palestinian flags intertwined, during a municipal reception for Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

Yekutieli's critics argued that by wearing the badge he was in violation of the "Prevention of Terrorism Act." He was detained and questioned by the police and later released on bail.

"It was not smart of me" to wear the badge, he meekly excused himself. The badge, he explained, was not prominently displayed, Shamir did not notice it, and it was not meant to offend. "It was a kind of plea for peace," he said, but he apologized anyway. □

Schools Reopening Delayed

Israel Threatens Force to Keep Them Closed

UNRWA photo



The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) reported through its Vienna office that it has been advised by the Israeli occupation authorities that UNRWA schools in the West Bank would continue to be closed until 10 January 1990. The Israeli authorities said that they would use force if necessary to implement this order.

The schools, closed again on 12 November by order of the Israeli military authorities, were scheduled to reopen on 11 December, but the new order will delay the beginning of the 1989-90 school year another month.

Referring to the military threat to use force if necessary to keep the schools closed, UNRWA "has decided not to attempt to re-open its schools in the West Bank as planned, on 11 December, in order not to compromise the safety of 36,000 Palestine refugee school children."

"The Israeli Civil Administration," said UNRWA's press release of 11 December 1989, "on 12 November ordered all schools in the West Bank closed 'for the interest of the local residents and to secure discipline and order.' That order made it impossible for UNRWA to complete the 1988-1989 school year, as planned, by the end of November under a compressed curriculum aimed at making up for months

of schooling lost the previous year."

UNRWA said that it protested the closure order because it "put the education of refugee children in serious jeopardy." Now, the new order causes additional losses, but UNRWA decided to comply with the order to keep its 90 schools in the West Bank closed "despite the further loss of time and the increased burdens" that this will place on the pupils and their 1,340 teachers.

Punishment Comes First

In addition to the inherent injustice of trying civilians in military courts, the Israeli military court system is plagued by inefficiencies which result in long imprisonment for Palestinian detainees before their case comes up. This is the conclusion of a report on Israeli "justice" in the occupied West Bank and Gaza prepared by B'tselem, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories. The report was based on observations of courts, and on interviews with judges, prosecutors and lawyers.

Palestinians accused of acts of protest or resistance to the occupation often spend months in prison before they are tried. Trials are routinely delayed for a variety of reasons, including the court's inability to locate files. Another frequent reason for delay is that prosecution witnesses, usually soldiers or policemen, fail to show up for the trial. In one case mentioned by the report, a Palestinian detainee remained in prison for more than a year—waiting trial—because his file had been misplaced and the prosecution witnesses did not show up. The report says that four out of every five prosecution witnesses do not appear in court.

A large number of Palestinians, of course, are incarcerated without charge or trial. This practice, called "administrative detention," enables the military authorities to order the arrest and imprisonment of any Palestinian for a year, renewable indefinitely, without any court proceedings.

Israel Bans Songs

Two Israeli songs critical of brutalities against Palestinian protesters have been banned by the Israeli Broadcast Authority, an agency responsible for Israeli government-controlled radio and television. The songs, Nurit Galron's "After the Flood" and Hava Alberstein's "Had Gadya," question Israel's policy of crushing the intifada.

"After the Flood" was earlier banned by Israel's Army Radio. Now the ban is to be total.

The new song to be banned, "Had Gadya," includes the following lines:

Banned Lyrics

Persecuted and persecutor
Beater and beaten
When will the madness end?

Once I was the sheep and the peaceful lamb
Today I am the leopard and the flesh-eating wolf
I have been a dove
I have been a deer
Today, I know who I am.

Let Us Rethink the 'Special Relationship'

The Jewish Committee on the Middle East (JCOME) has published a pamphlet titled "Let Us Rethink Our 'Special Relationship' With Israel," by Professor Charles L. Black, Jr., Sterling Professor of Law Emeritus, Yale University. The founder and chairperson of JCOME, Mark A. Bruzonsky, wrote in the introduction to the pamphlet that his organization published it after its distinguished author "was unable to find an American periodical to publish" his article.

Professor Black writes that the "special relationship" between Israel and the United States "is sweepingly and grossly incompatible with our country's supposed dedication to the cause of human rights throughout the world." It is an "entangling alliance" which "poisons the sheer basic honesty" of American commitment to the cause of human rights.

Through the "special relationship" with Israel, Professor Black says, we "seem bent on keeping Israel in a position to do whatever it desires, without fear of serious consequences."

Excerpts

■ "The corrupting power of Israel is in main truth and substance our creation; we are therefore ourselves fully responsible for the use to which Israel puts the power we thus place in its hands, particularly as we have now a very long and broad experience of what Israel will do with the power we hand over to it. If the American people can ever be made clearly to see even this one point, it may in the end become impossible to get them to disgrace themselves by continuing to arm Israel to the point of absolute power in the region, while shielding that country, diplomatically and otherwise, from the effects of world-wide anger and disgust."

■ "My confession is that the beatings did surprise me. A slumber did my spirit seal; it had never occurred to me that the people of Israel, through their political leaders and their soldiery, would do a thing like that. Systematic, cruel beatings—torture at best, at worst incapacitation, sometimes extending to mayhem, to deliberate maiming? Soldiers of Israel holding a prisoner down, while another such soldier broke his bones with a large

- *By giving Israel the power that it has and by sheltering it from world censure, we are partners in its repression of the Palestinians.*
- *Our "special relationship" with Israel is a howling paradox.*
- *We have put our national conscience into the hands of Israel.*

rock? Well, I was wrong. The beatings don't surprise me any more. We live and learn."

■ "Now, no two huge historic situations are ever exactly alike. I don't want to waste any time on arguing the question whether the system Israel is maintaining against the Palestinians is a form of 'racism.' It does seem inescapably true that it has a lot in common with 'racism,' and that these common traits suffice to damn it, whether you call it racism or not. But the point I want to make here is that although, like the old American racist system [in the South], the system that Israel imposes and practices inflicts many very heavy tangible hurts—torture, banishment, spoilation of the land and water basis of life, even death itself—there is in it a wholly pervasive quality of contempt, of setting the Palestinians, together with all their claims and longings, at nothing. This attitude runs throughout and suffuses all the dealings of Israel with these people who have had the accursed bad luck of being in Israel's way, of falling into Israel's power."

■ "Our so-called 'special relationship' with Israel is a howling paradox. It is flatly inconceivable that we would ever have gotten into such a relationship with such a regime if we had known in advance what the nature of that regime was at last to be. As to the Palestinians, Israel neither conducts nor intends to conduct a regime in which such concepts as 'equality,' the right 'to the pursuit of happiness,' political liberty, or the 'consent of the governed' are to play any part at all. The methods by which this regime is now being maintained are simply cruel and vile. Nor is there held out any prospect of improvement."

■ "I see my country being lead through actions and postures that

make public mockery of our most ancient and most sacred dedications. This is worse than merely watching one's own country be made to look foolish, manipulable, a mere gull, an easy mark, in regard to some unimportant matter. There is vastly more to it than that; the deadly direction is always the same—toward unwavering support of Israel, no matter what Israel does—which, in practice, has been shown to mean, whatever Israel does in violation of human rights of the Palestinians under its power. We have put our national conscience into the hands of Israel." □

American Jews and Israel

A public opinion poll showing "surprisingly dovish positions" among American Jews on the question of territorial compromise was suppressed in Israel, according to the 18 November 1989 *Jerusalem Post*. The survey was done by Tel Aviv University's Israel-Diaspora Institute. The Israeli newspaper said that the poll was suppressed to spare Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir an embarrassment on the eve of his November visit to the United States.

After the conclusion of Shamir's visit to America, which was primarily intended to raise funds from American Jews, *The Jerusalem Post* (international edition, week ending 25 November) described Shamir's reception by American Jews as "tepid." The paper said that the American Jewish community leaders are "now ready to oppose Israeli policies openly," a departure from past practice when American Jews who disagreed with Israeli policies were not to air their views publicly.

Jewish disagreement with Israeli government policies on peace with the Palestinians, *The Post* wrote, was evident when Shamir spoke to 3,000 American Jews in Cincinnati at the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations. Shamir was met with "polite but restrained" reception, and there was "widespread disappointment in what was regarded as a very hard-line speech."

Shamir was also handed a letter signed by 41 prominent American Jewish leaders asking him "not to misread the polite applause of the audience as evidence that American Jewry supports his determination to hold on to the [occupied] territories and to resist efforts by the Bush administration to bring about Israeli-Palestinian negotiations." During his visit to the United States, Shamir received another letter, from 213 rabbis, urging him to accept "exchanging land for peace." Several hundred American Jewish personalities also signed an open letter, written by *Tikkun* magazine editor Michael Lerner, calling on Shamir to accept negotiations with the PLO and Palestinian self-determination.

Many American Jewish leaders are apprehensive that the Israeli government's inflexibility on the peace process would create tensions with Washington, which would put them in an uncomfortable position. Their easy access to policymakers is bound to be jeopardized as it becomes increasingly apparent that Israeli policy and the U.S. national interest are not necessarily compatible. The Bush administration's reluctance to invite Shamir to visit the White House during his most recent journey to the United States was seen by some of them as the writing on the wall and the beginning of the erosion of the "special relationship."

Furthermore, the American Jewish community is torn by the tensions within the Israeli government and the conflicts between the Labor and Likud parts of the coalition. Israeli political parties have constituencies within the American Jewish community and disagreements among Israeli politicians are reflected among their American Jewish partisans. □

Have Clout, Will Lobby...for Anything

Israel embarrassed itself again recently when it was caught lobbying for a most unsavory cause: defeating a U.S. Senate resolution to commemorate the Armenian massacres in Ottoman Turkey during World War One. The resolution, introduced by Senate minority leader Robert Dole, declares 24 April 1990 as a day to remember the victims of the massacres.

The Israeli embassy in Washington actively lobbied against the resolution.

The Israeli government, embarrassed by revelation of the embassy's efforts against the resolution, blamed the whole thing on "overzealous" embassy personnel. The embassy, the Israeli Foreign Ministry said, was only instructed to "make inquiries" about the Senate resolution. Israel, the state of the Jews, explained the Foreign Ministry in a self-serving statement, would not participate in a cover up of the Armenian massacres.

Turkey had reportedly asked Israel's help in blocking the Senate resolution in exchange for raising the level of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Turkey is also said to have hired a group of American Jewish "consultants" to work against the resolution.

Hertzl Tried Before

Although the Israeli government claimed that it had special sensitivity to the Armenian tragedy, in fact Zionism has a history of insensitivity whenever it could profit from it. Theodor Herzl, the founder of the Zionist Movement, wrote in his diary that he had offered the Turkish sultan the use of Jewish influence in the European media in exchange for his permission

New Books

- Naseer Aruri, ed., *Occupation: Israel Over Palestine*. Second edition. Belmont, Mass: AAUG Press, 1989.
- Don Betz, *The Intifada, the United Nations and the Non-Governmental Organizations*. Geneva: ICCP [ICCP, PO Box 2100; 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland], 1989.
- Graham E. Fuller, *The West Bank of Israel: Point of No Return?* Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, August 1989.
- Mark Gaffney, *Dimona, The Third Temple? The Story Behind the Vanunu Revelation*. Amana Books, 1989.
- Zachary Lockman and Joel Beinin, eds., *Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation*. [A MERIP Book]. Boston: South End Press, 1989.
- Clifford A. Wright, *Facts & Fables: The Arab-Israeli Conflict*. London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1989.

Native American Protest

Dear Editor:

We were upset to see ADC poster in your journal, *Palestine Perspectives* (No. 44, Nov/Dec 1989). It isn't historically true. Why would you print it? It insults both Native Americans and Palestinians in the intifada. Your comment, in article on Beit Sahour, was also historically incorrect. Invading settlers are not "freedom fighters" anywhere, not on this continent or in Palestine. We hope you will comment in your next issue, to correct these hurtful inaccuracies. We care about Palestinians and Native Americans. We hope you will too.

Linda and Jackson Smith
Carmel, California

to allow Zionist settlement in Palestine. Turkey was having an image problem in Europe at the time, because of its mistreatment of its Armenian citizens.

In more recent times, Israel had used its influence over the American Jewish community to influence the behavior of Congress toward many clients around the world. In effect, Israel has become a global lobbyist, and every country which needs something from America—arms, money—is apt to ask for Israel's help in exchange for favors, such as diplomatic relations, more permissive rules on Jewish immigration, or access to markets and raw materials. □

Hidden Aid to Israel

American government subsidies of Israel, amounting to \$3 billion of grants a year, do not include an additional \$666 million doled out to finance various Israeli projects. The additional subsidy, according to a study by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, AIPAC, includes \$25 million for the settlement of Soviet Jews in Israel, and \$7 million for Israeli schools and hospitals.

The Zionist lobby brags that in spite of all the talk about the erosion of support for Israel, the U.S. Congress is still in the bag, as evidenced by the fact that the additional hundreds of millions of dollars of aid to Israel was given at a time of deep cuts in the U.S. government budget. □

Who's Afraid of Glasnost?

Cold War Thaw Worries Israel

While the world celebrates the advent of democratic freedom in Eastern Europe, Israel worries about the impact of these events on its future as the last bastion of colonial domination. As the Berlin Wall comes tumbling down and the cold war thaws, Israel worries about its threatened value as America's "strategic asset."

Israeli strategists are reportedly fearful that the easing of East-West tensions due to the democratization of the countries of Eastern Europe, their new open borders policy, and improved trade relations would also diminish concern for U.S. interests in the Third World, including the Middle East. They are also fearful that the spirit of detente in Europe would prove to be contagious and lead to improved American-Arab relations.

Furthermore, Israel is concerned that the relaxation of East-West tensions would lead to cutbacks in American military expenditures, something that is likely to affect military assistance to Israel. Even a cutback of U.S. military presence in Europe, already being talked about, would affect Israel's access to emergency American assistance in case of war in the Middle East. U.S. forces in Europe have in the past served as a supply depot for Israel, giving it rapid access to U.S. weapons.

The psychological atmosphere created by glasnost and consequent events in Europe, and the resolution of many regional conflicts—in the Gulf, Afghanistan and southern Africa—will also make it more difficult for Israel to maintain the war hysteria and the image of "embattled ally" on which it prospers, especially that the Palestinians have embarked on a policy of peaceful settlement with Israel.

All of these considerations, Israeli strategists fear, would diminish the value of its much advertised role as America's ally and "strategic asset." They would also undermine its policy of justifying all sorts of misdeeds—such as continued occupation, brutalization of the Palestinians, and its

intransigence on the peace process—on the grounds that its security is threatened and that it stands in the forward trenches of the free world.

Above all, the improved global picture leaves Israel sticking out like a sore thumb as a militaristic, colonial, oppressive and unbending state which thrives on tension and conflict.

That is why Israel and its friends are looking for a dark spot on the horizon, and are calling for skepticism about the durability of glasnot. They are ringing alarm bells about a presumed threat that the disappearance of the iron curtain would lead to the reunification of Germany, picturing the event as if it were a resurgence of Nazism. *The Jerusalem Post* (18 December 1989), although it criticized Israeli leaders who think that there is an "inevitability that dooms a reunified Germany to being an unregenerate, overweening, aggressive power," editorialized that "a Jewish sense of trepidation over the prospect [of German reunification] is hard to conceal, at this time." Many of Israel's friends also encourage doubts about the ultimate success of the East European pro-democracy struggle, arguing that East Europeans have no democratic traditions to ensure its success.

Soviet Jews

Israel and its friends have another axe to grind by encouraging skepticism about developments in Europe and the global relaxation of East-West tensions. They are concerned that Soviet Jews—who have always been reluctant to go to Israel in the first place—would be encouraged to stay where they are, in their country, if the conditions of life in Europe improved, particularly that their choice of coming to America has been restricted. Israel—which pins its hopes for solving its most critical problem, manpower shortage, and thus flooding the West Bank and Gaza with new colonists—views the prospect of improved living conditions in the Soviet Union as nothing short of disastrous.

That is why as the world hopes... Israel worries. □

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■ **German Subs**—West Germany is building two Dolphin-class diesel-powered submarines for the Israeli navy. The two vessels, estimated to cost more than \$600 million, will be paid for by the United States government.

■ **Sharon's Bloc**—Ariel Sharon and his extreme right wing group in the Israeli government have decided to form a separate bloc in the Israeli Knesset to block any possible compromise by the Israeli government. Sharon and his team expect to recruit 14 Likud Knesset members in preparation for another challenge to Shamir's leadership of the party or possibly for splitting it.

■ **Shultz Gets Paid**—Former Secretary of State George Shultz got \$50,000, his share of this year's "Defender of Jerusalem" award, given by the New York-based Jabotinsky Foundation. The award is given to those who contribute to the defense of "the rights of the Jewish people." Shultz shared this year's award with Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek.

The Jabotinsky Foundation is named for the founder of right wing Zionism, Vladimir Jabotinsky, Menachem Begin's mentor. Benito Mussolini often referred to him as "the Jewish fascist."

■ **Grapefruits Damaged**—An estimated \$400,000 of Palestinian grapefruits were damaged in an Israeli port as they were being shipped from the Gaza Strip to Europe. Five hundred shipping crates were smashed and the fruits dumped on the Ashdud port pier in late November.

Gaza Citrus Association head, Mansour Shawa, described the Israeli action as "willful sabotage." The Israeli authorities justified it by claiming that it was a "security procedure" following an ambush of an Israeli army patrol in the Gaza Strip "to abort any attempt by the armed cell members to flee the country."

Israel opposes Palestinian exports to Europe and accepted it only grudgingly when European countries pressured Israel to allow Palestinian producers to export their produce to the European market.

■ **Poor Israelis**—About half a million Israelis live below the poverty line, according to the 1988 survey of the Israeli National Insurance Institute. They include 223,000 children in 130,305 families and comprise 14.3 percent of the population. The survey also shows that if it were not for government subsidies, the figure would more than double, to 296,289

In Brief

families comprising 32.6 percent of the population.

■ **GOP/Likud**—The U.S. Republican Party is playing big brother to Israel's right wing Likud Party. The Republicans are trying to get Likud invited to join the International Democratic Union, an organization of conservative parties.

The Republican Party is also trying to build up ties with Likud in other ways. A delegation of the Republican National Committee is visiting Israel for meetings with Foreign Ministry and Likud Party officials.

■ **Israeli Defrauds Norwegian Bank**—An Israeli diamond dealer is accused of defrauding a Norwegian bank of more than \$3 million. The dealer, who is believed to be hiding in Israel, deposited a package of diamonds said to be worth more than \$3 million, then he withdrew a similar amount on the strength of his deposit

Israel Bans Books

Israel is fighting the uprising in the Occupied Territories not just by patrolling the streets but by controlling what Palestinians read. The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories recently received a letter from Israeli censor Liat Menachmi explaining the government's criteria for banning books. Menachmi writes, "Books are banned if they are liable to damage state security, public safety or public order." Journalist Mitchell Kaidy reports the banned books include *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare, *The Lover* by Palestinian author Ghassan Kanafani and *The Battle for Peace* by Ezer Weizman, Israel's minister of Science, who is an advocate of peace with the Palestinians.

In These Times [Chicago-based weekly newspaper], 6-12 December 1989

[Book banning in the occupied territories, of course, is not new. Since the occupation began in 1967, Israel has maintained a list of banned books, which normally contains more than a thousand titles—Editor].

and disappeared. Later, the diamonds were found to be worthless, and the documents certifying their value was found to be fraudulent.

■ **Closed Mosques**—The London-based Arabic-language daily newspaper Al-Quds [Jerusalem] said that six Muslim places of worship in the Gaza Strip, closed earlier by the Israeli occupation authorities, are still not allowed to reopen. Two of the mosques have been closed since October 1989, three have been closed since September 1989, and one since April 1989.

■ **Minor Sentenced**—A 15-year-old Palestinian was sentenced to eight months in prison, and a fine of 2,500 Israeli shekels by a military court in Jenin in December 1988. Jihad Bal'awi was convicted of raising the Palestinian flag, taking part in a student march and participating in the erection of street barricades.

■ **Military Suicides**—In December 1989, the chief of the manpower division of the Israeli army told the Knesset that 21 Israeli soldiers committed suicide since April 1989.

■ **Hussaini Confined**—The Israeli occupation authorities placed Faisal Hussaini, director of the Arab Studies Society, under town arrest in Jerusalem. He is not permitted to travel to the West Bank or the Gaza Strip. Israel's Defense Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, said that he approved of Hussaini's confinement as "part of confronting the intifada."

Hussaini is frequently mentioned as a possible member of a Palestinian delegation in negotiations with Israel. He has been a vocal supporter of Palestinian-Israeli peace based on the exchange of land for peace.

■ **Intifada Deaths**—The Jerusalem Press Service reported that 819 Palestinians had died during the first 24 months of the uprising against Israeli occupation. Of these, 579 were shot to death by Israeli soldiers and settler vigilantes, 82 died of gas asphyxiation, 54 died of beating and torture, and 86 were fatally injured in miscellaneous incidents.

■ **Palestinian Passports**—According to Palestinian sources in Cairo, the PLO is getting ready to issue identity cards to all Palestinian citizens. The move is apparently in preparation for issuing Palestinian passports. One of the problems many Palestinians face as a result of their statelessness has been the difficulty of obtaining travel documents.

Anti-Zionist Jews Support Palestinian Rights

They Call for the dismantlement of Israel's Zionist Structure

The RETURN Group, an independent forum of anti-Zionist Jews, released a statement on the second anniversary of the Palestinian uprising condemning Zionist ideology and Israeli policy. The statement was signed by more than 300 Jewish personalities, mostly British and American but also including Israeli citizens. It calls for a halt to Israel's war on the Palestinian people and concludes with the following declaration:

"We, entitled to the privileges accorded under the Israeli Law of Return to Jews and their close relatives, declare our opposition to the state of Israel as a Jewish state and to the Zionist movement. We call on our fellow Jews and their close relatives to join us in making the following statement:

- The Palestinian people, at whose expense the state of Israel was established and continues to exist, have the right to return, to self-determination and to their independent state on Palestinian soil;
- The Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people;
- The state of Israel does not represent all Jewish people, neither legally, morally nor in any other way;
- The Zionist structure of the state of Israel is at the heart of the racism and oppression against the Palestinian people, and should be dismantled."

British Responsibility

The RETURN Group's statement, dated 7 December 1989, says that "Britain bears a special responsibility toward the Palestinian people," because it was a British government which sponsored Zionist colonization of Palestine when it issued the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which endorsed the establishment of a "Jewish national home" in Palestine. "As a result," the statement says, "the Palestinian people now live either under Israeli rule or in exile." The statement called on Britain, in view of its responsibility for the Palestinian tragedy, to "take a leading role in promoting the recognition of the state of Palestine," declared by the Palestine National Council on 15 November 1988.

The statement not only condemns Israel's repression of the Palestinians, but also Israel's operations in Africa, Asia and Latin America which make Israel "a major link in the world network of repressive and racist regimes." It also warned of the danger to the Middle East and the rest of the world of Israel's nuclear arsenal, "developed in alliance with South Africa."

The RETURN Group calls on anti-Zionist Jews who support its position to add their names to its statement. It can be contacted at the following address:

RETURN
BM 8999
London WC1N 3XX, ENGLAND
Telephone: (01) 226-7050



Faisal Hallaj/Palestine Perspectives

Bishop Tutu Visits Palestine

Nobel Peace Laureate Notes Israel-South Africa Parallels

South African archbishop Desmond Tutu paid a Christmas visit to the Holy Land, raising Israeli fears that the Nobel Peace Prize laureate's visit would turn into a pro-Palestinian event.

Tutu, a critic of Israeli policy toward the Palestinians and of Israel's relations with the apartheid regime in Pretoria, reiterated his support for Palestinian self-determination. In a meeting with Palestinian community and religious leaders in Jerusalem, the archbishop expressed his support for Palestinian statehood and affirmed his backing of Palestinian struggle for independence from Israeli rule. "We bear no animosity toward the Jewish people," he said, "but we call into question the policies of the Israeli government." Israel, he said, "must recognize the legitimate aspirations of the native people of this country."

Before he left for Israel, the archbishop told the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*: "I find worrisome parallels between the way the governments of Israel and South Africa react to unrest." Israel, he explained, has a right to exist, but "I must say that I find it extremely hard to understand Israel's policy in this area. I am a black South African, and if I were to change the names, a description of what is happening in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank would describe events in South Africa." Jews who suffered injustice, the bishop said, "cannot allow their government to turn others into victims of injustice. This is such a shocking contradiction." □

UNRWA Films on the Palestinians

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) has published a catalogue of its audio-visual material on the Palestinians. The catalogue lists and briefly describes films, videotapes, and slide sets produced by UNRWA since 1950 on Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine. They cover a large variety of topics dealing with the Palestinian experience.

The 12-page publication also includes a price list (for borrowing and buying) and an order form. It is available from UNRWA Public Information Office, P. O. Box 700, A-1400 Vienna, Austria. □

Dr. Arafat in Canada

PRCS President Speaks on Palestinian Health

P alestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS) president Dr. Fathi Arafat was on a 2-week speaking tour in Canada in late November 1989. Dr. Arafat, Yasser Arafat's younger brother, sought to inform Canadians of inadequate and deteriorating health conditions in occupied Palestine, particularly since the eruption of the intifada and the increase of emergency medical needs.

While in Canada, Dr. Arafat also met with federal and provincial government representatives and with charitable and humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross. His tour was sponsored by Medical Aid for Palestine (MAP), a Canadian charity established in 1983 to organize Canadian support for Palestinian humanitarian institutions.

Dr. Arafat said that health care in occupied Palestine, inadequate to begin with due to Israel's discriminatory policy against Palestinians, has become dangerously deficient since the beginning of the uprising and Israel's iron fist policy against Palestinian protesters. He estimated that 50,000 Palestinians—many of whom are children—were injured during the first two years of the intifada. He called on Canadian charitable organizations, which have been active in assisting Palestinian health institutions, to coordinate their work with the Palestine Red Crescent Society to avoid waste and duplication.

Comparisons

The discrepancies in health care available to Israelis and Palestinians under Israel occupation are shown by the large differences in all indicators of health conditions. Medical Aid for Palestine said that infant mortality rates, for example, are 50-100 per 1,000 live births in the occupied territories, compared to 14 per 1,000 in Israel. In Israel there are 28 physicians per 10,000 people, but only 8 physicians per 10,000 in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. There are 6.1 hospital beds in Israel and 1.3 hospital beds for every thousand persons in occupied Palestine. The Israeli occupation authorities collect \$393 million in taxes from the Palestinians and spends only \$245 million on health, education and other services. □

Israeli Money in Ceausescu's Bank Account

Deposed Rumanian Dictator Was Paid for Exit Visas

Informed sources in Israel, quoted by *Yediot Ahronot* of 29 December 1989, disclosed that Israel paid millions to Rumanian dictator Ceausescu over the years to facilitate the emigration of Rumanian Jews to Israel. The Israeli paper said that Ceausescu had received a total of \$60 million during his 24-year rule, and that the money was deposited in personal bank accounts.

Israeli Foreign Ministry and Jewish Agency officials confirmed the report although they declined to specify the amount of money involved. Rumania has been one of the main sources of Jewish immigration to Israel since its establishment, and the Rumanian Jewish community in Israel is estimated to be 400,000 people, or about 10 percent of all of Israel's Jewish population.

Palestine Perspectives

The Magazine of Contemporary Palestinian Affairs

“Taint people's ignorance that does the harm, 'tis their knowin so much that ain't so.”

Artemis Ward

The Palestinians have been victimized by disinformation more than any other people. They have been dispossessed and displaced; they have suffered repeated massacres; their human rights have been systematically and ruthlessly violated. Yet, they have risen above their pain and made more conciliatory moves to resolve the conflict with Israel than any other party to that conflict. But they are still portrayed as villains and obstacles to peace.

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Israel Worries About Canada

There is increasing worry in Israel that support for Israel in Canada is deteriorating. This worry is based on Canada's decision, early this year, to upgrade its relations with the PLO, and on a perceived tendency of increasingly voting against Israel in the United Nations.

During a recent visit to Israel, Andrew Robinson, head of the Middle East Department of the Canadian Ministry for External Affairs, told Israeli officials that it was Canada's view that Israel will "eventually" have to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

A Canadian Jewish professor of political science at the University of Quebec, Julien Bauer, now spending a sabbatical year in Israel, wrote in *The Jerusalem Post International* (30 December 1989) that in the past, Canada voted in support of Israel one third of the time, against Israel one third of the time, and abstained on other occasions. Today, Bauer said, Canada's votes in the United Nations are "largely negative."

Canada, which is often perceived by Israel and its friends as an annex to the United States, is expected by them to follow U.S. policy on Israel and the Palestinians, something which no country in the world does. Bauer advised Israelis to "stop treating it [Canada] like an American state and begin treating it as a country with an agenda of its own." □

Who Is an Israeli?

Israelis Are Confused About Their Identity

The Israelis are confused not only about who is a Jew—an issue which has prevented Israel from having a written constitution, frequently threatened to topple its governments, and which has placed severe strains on Israel's relations with American Jews—but they are also confused about who is an Israeli.

Early in December 1989, "some of the most creative minds in the country," according to the Israeli press, met for three days and nights in Jerusalem "to grapple with the problem of Israeli self-perception." The symposium, reported *The Jerusalem Post* (international edition, 9 December 1989) discovered that "this seemingly harmless question turned out to be political and cultural dynamite" and that it had no easy answers.

A Syrian-born participant told of how he "suppressed a rich Arab heritage as he strove towards the ideal of the blond khaki-clad sabra." A social psychologist compared the three generations of Israelis—the founders, their sons and grandsons—and described the present Israeli generation as the me generation whose self-realization comes before the general good and who are even ready to abandon Israel.

Another speaker, former deputy mayor of Jerusalem Meron Benvenisti, confessed that "for him the great Israeli dream has turned sour." He said that "he sees the great pioneering values of the past being exploited for the attainment of power and lordship." He said that he saw himself "increasingly alienated from the

emerging society" and that he had given up the struggle and took refuge "in a self-created cocoon."

An Israeli Arab participant, Abdel Wahab Darawsheh, spoke for his community when he said that as things stand in Israel today, "there is nothing in the myths and symbols of the State to win their allegiance."

Another participant said that the religious-secular split in Israel is at the root of the Israeli identity crisis. The

gulf between the religious and secular mindsets in Israel, he said, "cannot be so simply traversed." This problem, he explained, "is at the heart of the Israeli identity problem—and the question of the society's ability to cohere." These unbridgeable gaps in Israeli society, commented another speaker, threaten Israel with civil war because they make it difficult for a losing minority to abide by the will of the majority on important issues. □

The Morning After

They say that you shouldn't wish too hard for what you want, because you just might get it. Israel finds itself in this position regarding the mass influx of Soviet Jews. Israel not only wished but also worked very hard to open the flood gates of Soviet Jewish immigration and for restricting the entry of Soviet Jews into the United States to force them to go to Israel. It got both, and now it is worrying about the consequences.

Israel already faces two problems. One, who is to pay for settling the newcomers. The American Jewish community is supposed to shoulder a major burden, but it seems to grumble about it because Israel is being insensitive to its concerns and its policy toward the Palestinians and the peace process embarrasses American Jews, and also because it worked to deny Soviet Jews the opportunity to come to America.

Another, and perhaps a more serious problem, is that the influx of

Soviet Jews is likely to create and exacerbate tensions within Israeli society. Non-European Jews, an underclass in Israel, resent the large expenditures planned for Soviet Jews and see it as a part of the establishment's discrimination against Oriental Jews. Some of the spokespersons of non-European Jews are already protesting that resources should be allocated to alleviating poverty among them instead of lavishing it on European newcomers. They point out, for example, that the American Jewish community of Indianapolis has canceled a drive to raise \$100,000 for a school in a Sephardic community in Israel, because now it must raise four times that amount for the benefit of Soviet Jews expected to arrive in Israel.

[An American Jewish businessman, Joseph Gruss, gave Israel \$20 million in December to house 3,000 Soviet Jewish families in Israel. Gruss is a billionaire investment banker from New York.] □



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